CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

An editorial on

CHINA AND PEACE

LABOR IN SHANGHAI

SHEILA WATSON

FILM AND WORLD CULTURE

ALUN FALCONER

The full text of the COMMON PROGRAM of the PPCC

OCTOBER 8, 1949

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

OLD FRIEND

To The Editor:

As an earnest reader of the Review for years, I was very happy when coming across in a bookstore in Peking my old friend (the Review) which I have missed for several months since the liberation of Sian where I formerly studied.

There are few English magazines published in China that stand on the side of the people, voicing their demands, picturing their plight and denouncing the wrongdoings of the reactionaries. Of course, I would not dare say that the Review has got rid entirely of the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, but I am sure that it has at least sympathized with the proletariat revolution. This is why the Review is described as a "progressive" periodical and wins a great number of readers.

May the Review get closer to the laboring people so that it can keep abreast with the times and exert all its efforts to strengthen the friendship between the two peoples of China and America.

C. C. Y.

Peking
Sepember, 26, 1949

THANK GOD

To The Editor:

This is a translation of a letter written by my mother, Kwei Yueh Hwa, to the Ta Kung Pao. Perhaps some of the foreign readers of the Review may be interested in reading it:

"I am a 63-year-old woman and a Christian. After the Lu-ko Bridge Incident I took my only son and three daughters and ran away from Japanese-occupied Peiping to Shanghai. During the eight years of the Sino-Japanese War we suffered a great deal. After the war we thought that we could live peacefully. Contrary to our expectation, we suffered again under the KMT's control.

"Chiang Kai-shek was afraid that the PLA would come and liberate the whole country, so he indulged himself in the civil war, fought against the PLA and ordered his special police to arrest all progressive and patriotic young students of both sexes. Those young people had to hide themselves here and there all the time. My family was no exception, and not a single day passed that I was not worrying about the safety of my own children. Chiang also ordered Mao Sen, before the liberation of Shanghai, to arrest these patriotic young people and adopted all kinds of inhuman punishment, worse even than the methods used by the notorious Emperor Ching Tze Hwang, who burned books and buried scholars. So we were living in the midst of fire and water. Every day we hoped that the PLA would come to liberate Shanghai.

"Thank God, on the 28th of May this great city was finally liberated. I was so happy at the news that I wept because from now on we would suffer no more under the KMT's control.

"On the 6th of July I rode in a pedicab with my granddaughter for three hours watching the PLA parade. Although it was pouring rain, there was

(Continued on Page 84)

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The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 115 Shanghai, Saturday, October 8, 1949 No. 6

CHINA AND PEACE

THE foremost world problem today is the preservation of peace. While everyone wants peace, many people apparently feel that it cannot be maintained. Here in China we can see the approaching end of the civil war which will mean the arrival of peace. However, some people appear disturbed at the prospect of the conclusion of China's civil war. It has even been said by some observers that once the fighting here is finished and the People's government brings the entire country under its rule, China may constitute a threat to world peace.

Some of those who profess to believe that a People's China will be a danger to peace, have all along advocated solution of the present civil war through negotiation between the contending parties. A solution reached in such fashion, they argue, would result in compromises between the parties and the setting up of opposing political groups in China which would allow for the expression of various shades of political, economic, and other thought. Such a system, it is said, would bring to China a form of democracy which would tend to make the country a more effective force for peace and progress than would otherwise be the case.

This argument has some appeal to certain groups. Naturally the bosses of the KMT and their hangers on, who can only look forward to a bleak existence in which there will be no public cow to milk, are prepared to grasp at such a straw. Unfortunately there are some people, especially in America where the real nature of the KMT is not yet fully understood, who also favor such a proposal.

However, those of us who have observed events in this country in the recent past know full well that any talk of peace through any means other than the complete defeat of Chiang and his gang is utter nonsense. We have watched how the KMT has used previous periods of truce and negotiation as a breathing space during which it attempted to recoup its strength so that it might continue perpetrating its colossal misrule upon the people of this country. All sensible people know that there is only one way to end China's civil war and that is via the method presently being used by the People's forces.

Once the internal war is finished, though, how will China stand as regards the question of world peace? Will the new China be a force for peace? Or will she—as some observers in America have predicted—constitute a threat to international peace?

We believe that the new China, the People's China, will be a strong force for peace. We have reached this conclusion upon the basis of what we have been able to see here in China and upon what we know of the new China's ambitions and plans for the future. One of the more recent overall statements of government policy was contained in one particular paragraph of the declaration issued by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 30. It said:

"The founding of the People's Republic of China has been proclaimed and the Chinese people have their own central government. This government will carry out the people's democratic dictatorship within the boundary of China in accordance with the Common Program (constitution—Editor). This government will command the PLA to wage the revolutionary war to the very end, exterminate the remnant enemy troops, liberate all territory of the country and fulfill the great cause of unifying China. This government will lead the people throughout the country to surmount all difficulties, carry out large-scale economic and cultural construction, sweep away poverty and ignorance left behind by the old China, gradually improve the material life of the people and raise their cultural life. This government will protect the people's interests and suppress all conspiratorial activities of counter-revolutionary elements. This government will strengthen the people's army, navy, and airforce, consolidate national defense, protect the integrity of territory and sovereignty of China and oppose all aggression of imperialist countries. This government will unite with all peace and freedom loving countries, nations, and people, first of all the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries, as allies to oppose jointly the imperialist plots for provoking war and strive for lasting world peace."

In this paragraph several things are made clear. The new government goes on record as saying that it is in favor of peace, that it will strengthen and unify the country and will oppose all imperialist (outside) aggression. It will unite with all freedom loving peoples, it declares, to oppose plots for war.

It also puts forth some aims for internal achievements, such as carrying out large-scale economic and cultural reconstruction, sweeping away poverty, and raising the cultural level of the people.

Aside from these official pronouncements upon the subject, it seems to us that there are several easily observable reasons which indicate that the new China will do all it can to keep the peace. One should not lose sight of the fact that, except for a few short periods, China has been involved in armed struggle, either in

the form of civil strife or in war with a foreign power, for the past quarter of a century. This country—perhaps more than any other one—needs peace for reconstruction after these long years of exhaustive warfare.

Further, it has been demonstrated to the Chinese people that no country can long be peaceful until she is free and independent in all ways. Foreign aggression, stretching back through the centuries, has, in one way or another, brought almost endless conflict to this country and it is only now that all vestiges of this interference (including those native sons who have become the lackeys of foreign masters) are on the point of extinction that the country is entering upon a peaceful period.

With such a history, it would seem most unlikely that the People's government would lightly embark upon any program which would threaten world peace and, consequently, endanger the position which China has so long struggled toward and which she is just about to attain. Since China has been such an excellent example of the theory that neither aggression from without nor oppression from within can forever keep the majority of the population subdued, it is difficult to imagine this country now embarking upon a program of aggression against other nations.

One further point we believe is of prime importance. The new government has announced its determination to remake society in such fashion that everybody will have enough to eat, enough to wear, decent housing and all the other amenities of life which modern industrial civilization can provide. If this ambitious program is to be accomplished, precious little energy can be devoted to military affairs beyond the bare minimum required for national security against outside attack. As we all know, it is either guns or butter and the People's government has declared itself in favor of butter.

* * *

JUDGING by what has happened in China, it would seem that there is some connection between peace and popular governments. We have seen here how an unpopular government, even when receiving vast aid from abroad, became less and less able to keep the country under control and how a group of half-armed farmers, with the support of the people, grew in strength until it swept through the entire country.

From this development, we believe, the American government, as well as the European colonial powers, can learn a valuable lesson, while failure to understand this lesson may bring really tragic events in the future. Recent history in this country has demonstrated in unmistakable terms how the China policy of the Truman administration was based from the beginning on a false assumption and how this policy could only end in failure.

Unfortunately it appears that Truman and his advisers may have completely missed the point of the China lesson since similar policies seem to be developing toward other countries of Asia. The situation in Korea appears to be moving toward civil war. While we are not acquainted with conditions in North Korea, we gather from all accounts that the South Korean Republic is pretty much a small-scale replica of Nationalist China. In the Philippines an oppressive government has driven farmers in many areas of the country into open rebellion and now, we understand, the leadership of this resistance movement is also communist. In the colonial areas, Truman is apparently advocating a policy of "moderation" and "cooperation" between the native nationalists and the foreign colonial rulers, which of course simply means the restoration of foreign rule.

While it has been tragically disheartening to watch American policy—as formulated by the Truman administration—run its course in China, it has been helpful in that developments in this country have served to open the eyes of many people. We can see that China has attained independence and peace despite American interference. The American people had an expensive lesson. Let us hope—and there is still time for hope—that it will not be completely wasted. If Washington has learned anything from its China experience, there may still be a chance of avoiding future disasters of similar nature.

CIVIL SERVANTS REHIRED

WHEN the local authorities discharged a large number of old KMT civil servants a short time back, most observers felt that the move was to be expected in that it was simply the traditional act of house-cleaning by a new regime. However, now that the government has announced that these discharged employees are to be rehired, or in other ways taken care of, many local eyebrows have been lifted.

All sorts of "significant" facts are being deduced from this move. Some observers see it as a sign of weakness upon the part of the local officials, while others proclaim that this is an early indication that times really have not changed so much after all.

We would agree that this seeming alteration of an earlier policy is significant. While we certainly are not in a position to "explain" such matters, we do believe that a few observations can be made which may shed a little light on the background of the dismissal and the subsequent rehiring of superfluous personnel left over from the old regime.

Originally, it will be recalled, the Communists urged civil servants in the yet-to-be-liberated areas to stick to their posts. Continued employment was promised all competent personnel who preserved the property and records of their organizations.

However, it was not long after the new authorities arrived before it became evident that this policy, while having many good points, had certain drawbacks. In some organizations, such as the Post Office, which had a reputation for efficiency and generally good management, there was no problem. Things were carried on as usual, with perhaps only a few minor changes being necessary.

In some organizations, though, difficulties arose immediately. After the honeymoon period of the first couple of weeks or so some of the old employees began to lapse back into their pre-liberation habits, such as attempting to squeeze the office whenever possible. One oft-told story was about an office which desired to rent a hall for a meeting and which sent an "old" employee out to make the arrangements. When the man returned, the director thought that the price was too high and sent an aide out to discuss lowering the price with the manager of the hall. It was then discovered that the old employee had simply added his "commission" to the price.

The erring official, it was reported, was called on the carpet and then sent off to a training class for re-education. It would seem likely that the new authorities in many, many of the old government organizations must be faced with similar problems. It is also probable that quite a few of these "erring" old officials will not profit by the training class course.

It is not difficult to visualize the burden, financial and otherwise, which the retention of unproductive and, in some instances uncooperative, personnel placed upon the new administration. Therefore, it actually was not surprising that, following the institution of the KMT blockade of the port, plus the flood, the authorities should decide to launch an austerity and public retrenchment movement which included the dismissal of useless public servants.

It was apparently realized from the first that this policy would cause considerable hardship upon those dismissed and a number of methods were undertaken to aid these people. Varying amounts of severance pay were granted to some discharged employees, attempts were made to find new jobs for the more capable individuals, and, in the case of those desiring to return to their native places to engage in productive work, transportation facilities were arranged by the authorities.

However, it was not long before it became apparent that the dismissed employees were facing really difficult days. With the general slowdown of business because of the KMT blockade, private enterprise was in no position to provide employment. In fact, private business was itself adding to the ranks of the unemployed.

In consideration of the difficulties in which many of the discharged government employees find themselves, a new set of regulations designed to help them tide over this transition period has been announced.

These regulations, we believe, are of particular importance in that they indicate rather clearly the method of approach taken by the new authorities when dealing with a difficult problem.

Article 1 says that those really unable to find employment shall be rehired and, if they are able to work, shall be given jobs or, at the least, be given training so that they may have a chance to learn.

Article 2 states that those discharged employees who have already found other jobs shall stick to them, regardless of whether or not such employment is suitable. These people should be considerate of the government during this difficult period. The government assures them that later on they will be employed so as to use their ability to its best advantage.

Article 3 says that the government is sympathetic toward those discharged because of old age or because of physical disabilities and that all those falling in this category who have been unable to find other jobs or who have no savings or relatives to fall back upon shall be provided for. Those actually capable of lighter jobs shall be given jobs, or at least assistance to readapt themselves for some other type of work.

Article 4 says that even those dismissed for misconduct shall be given consideration unless their offense was very serious. However, such people are expected to repent their past mistakes and reform themselves by future hard work. These people will be given assistance if they are willing to take part in productive work in the areas being reclaimed.

The regulation goes on to clarify the earlier order for retrenchment, pointing out that policies of economy should be correctly carried out.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Diplomats Protest Air Raids

October 4, 1924.

Regarding the air raids conducted by the Fengtien troops at Shanhaikwan and Chinwangtao that destroyed quite a number of private buildings and innocent people, the Diplomatic Body in Peking has taken up the matter with the Peking and Mukden authorities. The Peking diplomats recently held a meeting and later addressed a memorandum to both the Weichiao Pu in Peking and General Chang Tso-lin pointing out that bombings from the air on towns and villages "have no possible military value but only cause untold misery and suffering to numbers of inoffensive non-combatants." It also states that the Diplomatic Corps would be obliged to hold the authorities who ordered the attacks strictly responsible for any loss of life and property of foreigners.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Shanghai Schools Plagued By Wang Ching-wei

October 7, 1939.

The school system of Shanghai, one of the leading educational centers of China, embracing some 300,000 pupils and students has been thrown into turmoil by Wang Ching-wei, Japan's No. 1 puppet, in his efforts to win the possibility of educating the coming Chinese generation to be subservient yes-men under a Tokyo-controlled administration. Wang's terrorist organization has "taken care of" recalcitrant Chinese educators and threatens similar dire action against others. Murder and threats of murder are abroad. In protest against terror and intimidation which have forced so many Chinese educators into Wang's camp, thousands of Shanghai students have walked out of their classes. The schools have become an arena of political struggle. No one has yet published the full story of this momentous contest, so fraught with significance for China's future. . . .

Film and World Culture

ALUN FALCONER

THE world crisis of culture is sharply defined by the demand in liberated Shanghai for a censorship of American films. The people of China, having decided to "lean towards" the side of socialism, find that the art of an imperialist country is no less an impediment than the presence of gunboats. Mei T'o, film-critic of the *Wen Hui Pao*, has written that American motion pictures kill in a most cruel and cunning fashion without showing a trace of blood.

The social consequences of motion pictures have been frequently avoided in western countries by characterizing film-art as "entertainment." The vague use of this term has served to justify very inadequate aesthetic standards and to mask the expression of reactionary bourgeois attitudes and ideology in so many films. It is only of late that Eric Johnson, thought-controller of the American Motion Picture Association has called upon American film makers openly to defend and extol capitalism and to attack communism. This has served at least to clarify the argument. For the bourgeois artist the period of the ivory tower is officially over.

* * *

Mankind stands on the threshold of real human history. The old, dying, capitalist society is about to go down before the new, and with capitalism will end the inhuman class relationships, the oppression and degradation of man that has been inseparable from past societies. The conflict is world-wide and nothing is above the battle.

The outcome of the conflict is beyond doubt. Yet, it is only by the energies and will of men and women that the new can be realized. Art deals so directly in these human terms. Thus art can greatly reinforce the progress of humanity—or it can weaken and impede.

In the art of every land, the revolutionary conflict is fought out in the terms of individual wills and energies, of individual desires, loyalties, and striving. In human terms, art leans to one side or the other. It must retreat or advance. In the cheapest pulp magazine, in each Shostakovitch symphony, in all modern poetry, the conflict is reflected.

Let us quote the ultimate bourgeois artist, the American poet Ezra Pound. His poem, *The Garden:*

Like a skein of loose silk blown against a wall
She walks by the railing of a path in Kensington Gardens,
And she is dying piece-meal of a sort of emotional anaemia.

And round about there is a rabble
Of the filthy, sturdy, unkillable infants of the very poor.
They shall inherit the earth.

In her is the end of breeding.
Her boredom is exquisite and excessive.
She would like someone to speak to her,
And she is almost afraid that I will commit that indiscretion.

Then let us see how Mayakovsky, the great poet of the Soviet revolution, views his humanity. From his poem, *Our March:*

Look at heaven, gaping with boredom
We have shut it out from our songs.
Hey, Great Dipper, demand
That they hoist us up to heaven alive.

Drink to joy! Shout!
Spring has flooded our blood.
Heart, exult, beat!
Our breasts are as crashing brass.

There is that which is dying and that which is alive. Film-art, too, must lean to one side or the other.

The film-art is young and lusty and universal. It would seem as though it had been called forth by the twentieth century to answer the cultural problems posed by the desire for world unity among progressive peoples. Vsevolod Pudovkin, the great Soviet film practitioner and theorist, has called for the development of a "global film." The vivid, immediate and powerful imagery of the film can leap all cultural boundaries. Pudovkin has written: "I am profoundly convinced that the film, an art of quite recent appearance, possesses exceptionally great possibilities for the expression of man's broadest thoughts and ideas."

The film-art has further strength in that it is the most facile medium for the enlightenment and inspiration of a mass audience. It is an essentially popular art form. It cannot really exist without a mass audience. And, in considering film technique and film aesthetics, one becomes convinced that in this art form, with its inherent realism, the highest and most refined aesthetic-technical standards cannot mean a departure from popularization. There is a tendency in music and literature for virtuosity and maturity to limit the audience. With films I am sure the opposite is the case. High film standards are an aid to immediate popularization.

The art itself is, of course, impartial in distributing its favors. A film industry, with all its vast mechanism of production and distribution, can be an aid to international understanding, or a powerful weapon of imperialism. Since the war's end, American productions, through Marshall Plan agreements, predominate in French cinemas. The native French film industry has been partially suppressed by the unfavorable quota agreements signed between the American and French governments. In England, the yearly screening time of American films in relation to the screening time of British films during 1948 was in the ratio 3:2. Unemployment amongst English film-workers is very severe. In Shanghai it would be interesting to know just how many cinemas are owned or otherwise controlled by American companies. It is noteworthy, however, that all five of Shanghai's so-called "first run" movie houses are owned by two local firms, one of which is owned outright by an American company, while the other is a Chinese-American joint ownership setup.

Imperialist cultural aggression goes hand in hand with imperialist economic and military aggression. Similarly, in the anti-imperialist struggle, the cultural front is as important as any other front. Physically, American films have overwhelmed the opposition in many countries. Censorship in China, besides stopping undesirable films, can be a step towards protecting and encouraging a native film industry.

* * *

But our subject is the film as part of the general cultural problem of our time. Rejection of certain cultural trends and the cultivation of others is a matter for analysis as well as censorship. Rejections of Hollywood are not hard to find. Wolcott Gibbs, who resigned from his position as film critic for the American magazine *The New Yorker*, wrote: "Ninety percent of the moving pictures exhibited in America are so vulgar, witless and dull that it is preposterous to write about them..." He gave his opinion as a cultivated intellectual who found American films lacking in aesthetic values. But not enough has been said about the degeneracy of human-social values in Hollywood films and its relationship to the crisis of the society in which it has arisen and to the general crisis of bourgeois culture.

In the important film critique, "From Caligari to Hitler," the author Siegfried Kracauer has analyzed the part that German films played in preparing the German people for Hitlerism in the decade following the First World War. Kracauer argues in his book that films both reflect and shape the attitudes and psychology of a people. In the Weimar atmosphere of capitalism in its death throes, Kracauer found that films expressed intense insecurity and isolation, a deep and fearful concern with the foundations of the self, the degeneration of relationships between men and women to the pathological level of violence and hysteria, the growth of mysticism. These attitudes permeated down through all sections of the people, taking particular hold amongst the middle classes. The individual became de-humanized, a victim of forces beyond his control, unable to change or to escape from his condition. One recalls Fritz Lang's fantastic film *Metropolis*, inspired, incidentally, in some detail by a visit Lang paid to America. This film depicts the life of a city of the future ruled by a single master under whom the workers are a de-humanized mass of slaves. In the days before Hitler, the German films

turned from obsession with despair to the worship of power and unlimited authority.

The Hollywood trend has not been so continuously obvious but, in its broadest aspects, it reflects a decadent society in which rapacious violence is matched with despair, hysteria with sexual fantasy; and in which the working class is either brutalized or ridiculed.

A recent film *The Life of Riley* was based upon a well known radio show about "typical" American family life. *Time* magazine described the hero of this film as "a morose, bumbleheaded factory worker with a careful blend of bathos, confusion and corny humor."

Shanghai has recently been offered a more "philosophical" American film, *The Postman Always Rings Twice.* The hero of this film is a restless workman and the heroine a pretty girl whose husband is the owner of a cafe-garage. The force of the illicit passion between the workman and the girl is surpassed only by their mutual desire to acquire the husband's wealth. They murder the husband and take possession of his cafe-garage. But inspite of an initial reprieve drawing out the agony, the fates pursue the couple. Death, the "postman", strikes them down. In the final scene in a prison death cell a priest hears the workman's final confession and speech of resignation.

In this shabby drama, the producer has chosen to expound against the cherished American legend that wealth is a sure reward for those who relentlessly pursue it. In the place of this grand illusion, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* offers guilt and resignation in death. It marks a certain advance along the road to cultural oblivion.

Another Hollywood film *The Outlaw*, screened recently in Shanghai, marks a considerable leap towards the abolition of all human-social values. *The Outlaw's* rejection of all simple decency, its glorification of banditry, immorality and utter sadism, is almost incredible. Only a society whose days are strictly numbered could exude such filth.

But it would be unfair to leave the subject of Hollywood without mention of those conscientious American film-workers who have fought against the tide of decadence. In a few postwar films, such as *Gentleman's Agreement*, we have seen real people, American workers and citizens, who have defended human rights and dignity. And American films are not the beginning and the end of all decadence. Other countries can equal Hollywood.

* * *

For a brief period, the anti-fascist war injected new life into the culture of the bourgeois democracies. In England, and on the Continent immediately after liberation, the revolutionary patriotism of European peoples was reflected in several good films. From Italy came *Open City* and from France the notable *La Bataille du Rail*, both based on the resistance movements in those countries. But, except in the new democracies of eastern Europe, this renaissance has been unfulfilled.

From England we have had some successful versions of classical plays and novels, but the most important film has probably been *Odd Man Out.* A skillful director, Carol Reed, pursued the problem of humanity in this age of revolution. Using a story related to the activities of the Irish Republican Army, he posed a man against the "laws" of society. In spite of its surface realism, the theme was a metaphysical one of "man's inner soul in conflict with absolute authority." The story ended with the defeat of "man," savored only with the questionable salt of pity.

* * *

Surely it is obvious that this bourgeois art is against humanity! It preaches resignation and defeat drained even of the vestiges of tragedy. France has had perhaps the final say. A new French film is Satre's *The Chips Are Down.* It tells the story of a workman who falls in love with a rich woman when they meet after death! Jean-Paul Satre is the leading exponent of existentialism, the philosopher of decadence so popular internationally among bourgeois intellectuals. Satre, who regards life as senseless and nauseating, stems from the more important fascist philosopher Heidegger who considered that death alone awakens the sense of freedom and responsibility in individuals. These are the philosophers who have penetrated and expressed the ideology of capitalism in its final stages.

These 'philosophers' must be analyzed and their 'philosophy' exposed. We cannot really discuss films in isolation from the general crisis of society and culture. The problem of film-art, as with the problems of all art today, is the problem of the criticism of bourgeois philosophy and bourgeois culture, and of the creation of a new culture for humanity.

On the whole question of humanity, Sarte, the international bourgeois 'philosopher,' film maker and artist, has given his final answer: "Hell is . . . other people."

"Hell is...other people." Very clear!

The fundamental and fatal weakness of all modern bourgeois art is its contempt for humanity, its expressed fear and hatred of the common people, its total lack of faith in humanity. Through this, the bourgeois artist—while pleading for some abstract 'sacredness of the individual'—is led to deny the greatness of real, living individuals.

The fundamental strength of socialist and progressive art is its recognition of the qualities, the heroism and nobility of the common people. It confidently asserts that the workers, that the common people of every land, will solve all the problems confronting humanity. It doing so it must affirm the greatness of real, living individuals.

Socialist and progressive culture is of the people and it is an essentially popular culture. Attempts have been made to discredit it on these grounds. T. S. Eliot (doyen of modern 'western' poetry and bourgeois literary criticism) in his recent "Notes Towards a Definition of Culture" argues that culture is inseparable from a social aristocracy. He contends that, without an aristocracy, without an exploiting class, culture will wither away. His logical conclusion to his own argument is that, to 'safeguard' culture, some exploiting class must be preserved. Eliot contends that the phrase 'popular culture' is a contradiction in terms: he says there cannot be such a thing.

The enormity of Eliot's error is that, in denying popular culture, Eliot is denying the best of all past cultures of all past societies. Is not the literature of the Bible a compilation of popular Hebrew legend and folk tales? Was not the magnificence of Greek drama built upon popular love and respect for the Greek theatre? The greatness of Shakespeare is surely the culmination of the European renaissance in an English atmosphere of popular sensibility for poetry, music and drama. Goethe's "Faust" has its origins in a folk tale of the German people. There is endless confirmation.

In being vigorously popular, the new socialist art will inherit the best of all past cultures. Further, because it is the most popular art of all, it will surpass all other cultures.

* * *

But the most consistent attempt to discredit socialist culture is made by those who, recognizing that the new socialist art is based on Marxism, contend that Marxism advocates 'the absorbtion of the individual in the collective mass.' By implication they seek to prove that socialist art denies the greatness of the individual. Of course the new socialist culture is based upon Marxism: but what is the truth of this fable of 'collectivism'?

In his book "The German Ideology" Marx wrote: "The first premise of all human history is of course the existence of living human individuals." Plekhanov's "The Role of the Individual in History" is regarded as a classic of Marxism, and it broadly develops the subject of the significance of individual actions. But Marxism's insistence on the broadest, universal democracy in society is perhaps the most complete affirmation of its belief in the competence of individual judgments.

There is no question that the cultural application of Marxism is no easy matter, and that some progressive intellectuals still regard the common people as a collective mass. Preserving bourgeois standards they find it difficult to come to grips with the lives of workers and farmers, of the common people, and to see them as living, complex individuals. The progressive Chinese writer, Chang T'ien Yi, commenting significantly on his own work, has written: "Formerly I had the weakness of making my characters function merely for the sake of bringing out the themes of my stories, thus neglecting their complex human natures. Recently I have attempted to correct this mistake."

Much work has to be done to consummate the possibilities of socialist culture, in literature, music, drama, in every art, and not least in films. In approaching the new culture some

progressive artists neglect a point made ages ago by Aristotle, whom Marx has termed 'the greatest thinker of antiquity.' Aristotle described a work of fiction as an imitation of men in action. But by men in action he did not simply mean *men doing things*, but things happening in the terms of human nature, events embodied in human lives. Here is the essence of artistic method that no progressive artist can neglect.

As for the role of the artist in society we have the comment of the greatest modern Marxist, J. V. Stalin. Stalin has written that the artist is 'the engineer of the human soul.'

Socialist art, socialist and progressive films, will most certainly be concerned with human lives, the human nature of living human individuals. This art will proclaim the greatness of the people and the dignity of the individual as no art has done before.

At the height of bourgeois art, Shakespeare wrote thus, in the words of Hamlet: "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet...man delights me not."

To Hamlet was given a realization —and a rejection.

In this age of the new democratic and socialist culture we have an equal realization of greatness. But in this age there will be no rejection; there will be no falling back; there will be a cultural affirmation and an infinite unfolding of human abilities.

THE TORCH

Feng Hsieh-feng

Translated by Tu An

Out of the dark woods stands
A torch of fagot bands—
Against the darker sky
The flame is swaying high.
I'm like the torch a-burning
That from the dark is turning,
A dried soul quick to blaze,
Who lives in the darkest place.
Sway, dazzle, burn at night,
Up to the darkest height!
Torch, you shall not expire,
Shine, run to victory, Fire!

* *From Feng's "Song of Lingshan Mountain," a collection of poems written when he was imprisoned by the Kuomintang in the concentration camp in Shangyao, Kiangsi, 1941-1942.*

Seamen's Wives Form Cooperative

ROSE YARDUMIAN

WHEN the Kuomintang management of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company left Shanghai, they took with them the assets of the Company and a number of ships. The ships were manned by officers and seamen whose wives and families, after the city's liberation, were stranded in Shanghai, their dependency payments cut off. This would be another story of the dislocation caused by civil war were it not for the resourcefulness shown by the newly organized Seamen's Union and the women themselves. As a result of the combined efforts of both, the women have formed a thriving sewing cooperative and similar cooperatives for other unemployed women are now being contemplated.

The story starts soon after liberation, when the seamen's wives began arriving at the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company office asking for help. They were sent to the China Merchants branch of the Seamen's Union, where they were given an emergency payment of JMP10,500 each and invited to meet together with representatives of the Union to discuss their problems.

Out of this meeting came the idea of forming a cooperative. One of the Seamen's Union representatives had worked with the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives for a number of years and had seen people with very few resources except energy and will form successful cooperatives. The wives responded enthusiastically. Since almost none had ever worked outside their own homes before, they decided that sewing would be the most practical occupation. Representatives were elected to work with the Seamen's Union in setting up the organization.

The next step was to approach the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and ask their help in drawing up a plan of organization and in locating sewing machines. Meanwhile they scouted for work orders.

Early in August, the cooperative started to work sewing pong t'ui (puttees) for the People's Liberation Army. Production during the first few days was halting, for many of the women had to be taught to use sewing machines, but within a month the cooperative was producing 667 pairs of puttees a day and by early September each member was earning an average of JMP1,000 a day on a piece-work basis.

The cooperative has 20 full-time members and another 10 who work part-time in the hope that when there are more orders and more sewing machines they will be accepted on a full-time basis. Already the cooperative has its own labor heroine, a young women from Soochow who has consistently turned out the largest number of puttees daily.

However, the cooperative stresses quality as well as quantity. After a meeting at which some of the sewing was criticized, production figures dropped, but they subsequently climbed again, this time with a higher quality of workmanship.

The cooperative has five organizer-workers elected by the membership: a chairman, an accountant, and three others who help in management, production and the business end. These women receive carfare and have two "middle kitchen" meals (vegetables and occasionally meat) a day with the staff of the China Merchants and the Seamen's Union. They also sew in their spare time, but as their income is less than that of the other cooperative workers, the cooperative is considering the idea of paying them a small salary.

Members are also planning to expand the scope of their work. A few have been experimenting with the production of men's utility shirts in the hope that they will find a profitable market.

Although the women work long and hard six days a week, and some even work Sundays to earn more money, they are thinking of extending their cooperation along other lines. One future project will be a literary class, since the majority of the women in the cooperative cannot read or write. The five organizer-workers, meanwhile, are getting together one evening a week to read and study the "New Democracy" with one of the women workers of the Seamen's Union.

Tai Yu Shu, the chairman of the cooperative, is the mother of three children and the grandmother of one. Her husband is a ship's captain. She was elected chairman because the other women liked her forthright and alert manner and her practical approach to their common economic problems. In spite of the fact that she had a fairly easy time before the liberation, Tai Yu Shu does not regret having to work now that her husband is away and she must support herself. "There are changes going on in China," she said. "Women too are beginning to change. Take the example of Li Ying over there. Li Ying is 27. Her husband is a first mate and he came back to Shanghai a week ago—the first of our husbands to return. She had never worked before, but she thought things over carefully, and told her husband that she would like to continue working. She enjoys her new independence and the companionship she has here."

Tai Yu Shu explained: "When many of our women first came here, you could see that they were holding back tears. They were frightened and miserable. Now they are enthusiastic. For the first time, some of us are beginning to think about and discuss conditions outside of the domestic problems of our narrow lives. Why, we are even beginning to talk about the world outside of China!"

Wu Pei Shun, the cooperative's accountant, an alert young woman of 26, is the wife of a third mate and the only member who has had working experience. She is more impatient than Tai Yu Shu about the immediate future for women. She said: "Conditions are still too feudal because of the old society."

Tai Yu Shu reminded her that, "In the past women had no place. They were constantly discriminated against. Men got all the jobs. How can such conditions be changed overnight?"

Wu Pei Shun is sure of the future. "After the blockade is broken and the entire country is liberated, conditions will improve. People will begin to realize that this society is good, that it is for the people."

Labor, Management In Shanghai

SHEILA WATSON

ONE of the knottiest problems following the liberation of Shanghai has been that of labor-management relations. Soon after liberation, industry in Shanghai broke out in a rash of labor disputes. Many of labor's demands, in view of the low productivity of industry, were impossible to meet and a number of firms, both Chinese and foreign, found themselves in serious difficulties. They couldn't close down, nor could they keep going. When the KMT began its blockade of Shanghai, the situation grew worse.

Added to this was a state of psychological uncertainty. What was to be expected under the new regime? The New Democracy was to be a people's dictatorship based mainly on the interests of the workers and peasants but also including the capitalists and small businessmen. In order to achieve greater industrialization, the Communists said, the interests of labor and capital during this period were identical. Both must be protected and both must work to the same end of increasing production. Was this to work out in actual practice? To industry, beset with lock-ins, demands for higher wages and reinstatement of workers, the answer was not clear.

It became clearer when, on August 18, labor regulations came in force governing the mediation and arbitration of labor disputes. Although much depended on how these regulations were interpreted and enforced (and, indeed, no solution wholly satisfactory to both labor and capital is possible until industrial conditions as a whole pick up), they provided a means of working the problem out and much of the labor-management tension has eased.

Nevertheless, a number of questions still remain about the brief but intensive period of labor disputes. What brought it about? How did it affect industry? What are the prospects for the future?

At the Liberation

To begin with, it is necessary to examine briefly the situation both labor and industry were in at the time of Shanghai's liberation.

The Kuomintang had adopted a mixed policy of pressure and appeasement toward labor. While it determinedly stamped out any independent labor leadership, it nevertheless realized the necessity of keeping labor quiet. Factories were not allowed to close down or to discharge workers without permission. When a factory ran into difficulties—as most of them did—the Central Bank granted it a loan. Under China's postwar inflation, such a loan could be paid back six months, or even three months later at a fraction of its original value. With these loans, factories speculated in raw materials, for the inflation was so rapid that it didn't pay to produce anything. By the time raw materials were purchased and finished products made, the price of raw materials had soared so much that they could not be replaced through the sale of finished products. This, then, was the cycle. The factories borrowed money from the Central Bank, used the money to speculate in raw materials and repaid the loan to the Bank. The factory owners made money, the workers got paid, and the Government went on turning out more paper money. As a result, production was extremely low, and there was a total absence of a climate conducive to solid business investment.

No Solution

Labor, for its part, was only partially appeased. Although factory employment was maintained through the measures described above, any legitimate labor action was impossible. The General Labor Union was in the hands of the Kuomintang and any attempt on the part of the workers to challenge this leadership was ruthlessly put down. To give only one example out of many. In 1947 the General Labor Union moved in to reassert its authority over workers at the Shanghai Power Company. It appointed a list of "labor leaders" who had agreed to cooperate and attempted to railroad through their election. But the Power Company workers refused to accept these "leaders" and instead elected 18 representatives of their own. Soon afterward, iron filings were "found" in the Power Company machinery. The labor representatives were promptly arrested for sabotage and one of them, Wang Hsia-ho, was executed.

With labor denied basic independence and the right to press its demands and with industry cynical and depositing its profits in hard currency outside the country, the economy as a whole was an extremely unhealthy one.

As the People's Liberation Army drew nearer Shanghai, some businessmen began to pull out. Others, however, were interested in what they had heard about the Communist Party policy of protecting private capital. They had read about it in newspapers, heard it over the Communist broadcasts from Peiping, and, most important, talked to people who had come back from the liberated areas. After W. W. Yen's peace mission returned to Shanghai from Peiping, the members were eagerly questioned. They assured businessmen that the Communists intended to protect private capital and advised them to ship in materials and machinery instead of depositing their money in the United States.

One big Shanghai textile mill, the Hsin Ho Company, shipped in 10,000 spindles to Shanghai as the result of conversations with members of the peace mission.

When it also became clear, from Mao Tze-tung's eight points and the list of war criminals published by the Communists, that private capitalists were not to be regarded as war criminals even if they had been Kuomintang members, many big Shanghai capitalists such as David Kwok of the Wing On Textile Mills and Yung Yi-jen of the Sung Sing Textile mills decided to remain.

The first two or three weeks of liberation bore out their high hopes, and factory owners were most optimistic. The business honeymoon came to an abrupt end over the issue of wages. Before liberation, it will be remembered, labor had been paid in terms of silver dollars or US dollar notes because of the worthlessness of the Gold Yuan. One of the first things the new authorities did was to convert the GY into Jen Min Piao and ban the use of US and silver dollars as a medium of exchange. Labor sought a new basis for wages and demanded payment in terms of rice. Since, in Peiping and Tientsin, wages were being paid on a millet basis and the system was working, the government did not interfere.

However, two things happened that were not expected: Rice started soaring, and the KMT imposed a blockade on the ports in liberated China.

The food situation in Shanghai was different from that in North China in a number of ways. In North China, millet was plentiful and the government could supply it in large enough quantities to control its price. In Shanghai, however, rice supplies had been largely dependent on ECA shipments, and before that on the quantities brought in by UNRRA and the China Relief Mission. Domestic rice arrivals in Shanghai had always been low. The daily average was around 15,000 piculs.

Blockade Problems

After liberation, large quantities of rice were shipped into Shanghai and the price remained stable. Toward the end of June, however, when it was learned that large areas of rice land had been flooded in North Kiangsu and North Anhwei, a number of merchants began speculating in rice and the price shot up.

Consequently, factories were hard put to meet their wage payments. One textile company, for example, had a monthly payroll of 6,000 piculs of rice for its 2,000 workers. Its building and equipment, when new, were valued at US$200,000. But rice went up so high that at one point its monthly payroll was the equivalent of US$250,000—more than the value of the plant. The company sold its whole stock of cotton to buy rice—and then could buy only 600 piculs.

The blockade, meanwhile, was forcing Shanghai's business—long dependent on trade with foreign countries—almost to a standstill.

Labor was slow to understand what was happening. When the factory owners told them there was no business and hence no money, they said, "You have made money in the past. Pay us out of your past profits." The factory owners appealed to the authorities, but were told that this was a problem to be settled between management and labor. Foreign businessmen were in even a more disadvantageous position. They had no one to complain to. Many foreign businessmen began to believe the situation was hopeless. They couldn't close down, and they couldn't discharge workers. There was nothing to do but agree to labor's demands and bring in the foreign exchange, at a disadvantageous rate to meet their costs.

Many Chinese factory owners also decided that they had no future. They sold their stock and equipment to meet wage payments. A number of capitalists and able engineers retired (in small factories, the owner is often the engineer), and turned the factory over to the laborers. Some owners even claimed that they were financed with KMT capital in the hope that the Military Control Commission would take over the factory and pay according to MCC standards, which were much lower.

As rice prices rose, the People's government saw that rice was a poor basis for wages. It therefore converted government-owned factories to a parity unit basis (the parity unit was based on the prices of four staple commodities: rice, peanut oil, cotton cloth and coal briquettes) and encouraged other factories to follow suit. But labor was reluctant to take any wage decrease voluntarily.

It became apparent therefore, that steps must be taken to curb unreasonable demands on the part of labor if production was to continue.

The Labor Bureau

After talks with labor representatives to explain the government point of view and consultation with such groups as the Shanghai Industrial Association and the newly-reorganized Chamber of Commerce, two important sets of provisional labor regulations were issued on August 19, and a Labor Bureau was set up in the City Government.

The first of these regulations set up procedures for mediating and arbitrating labor disputes. Under these procedures, management and labor must first seek to reach a reasonable settlement through direct negotiation. If this fails, either side may apply to the Labor Bureau for mediation and arbitration. Should either or both parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Labor Bureau, the case may be brought before the People's Court for a final decision.

In order to avoid interference in production, the regulations provide that throughout the period of negotiation, mediation and arbitration, both labor and capital must maintain the original conditions of production. Management may not close down, stop wage payments, reduce meals or in any way change its treatment of the workers. Employees may not go on strike or resort to any other action that hinders production or constitutes a breach of labor discipline. If the case goes before the People's Court, both parties are requested to abide by the decision handed down by the Labor Bureau until such time as the Court reaches a final decision.

The regulations also specify in great detail the steps to be taken when either labor or management has a grievance. Labor unions which have demands to make of management must first present them to the Shanghai General Labor Union for examination, and GLU delegates may, if desired, participate in the negotiations with management. Management, on the other hand, must first obtain the approval of the Commerce and Industry Bureau of the city government before it may discharge any employees or close down. If the labor union concerned does not wish to accept such dismissals, it may appeal the case according to the procedures outlined above.

Protection of Labor

The measures also provide for uniform industry-wide action. If a dispute, for example, covers only one factory, the factory is taken as a unit and the settlement is binding only upon that factory. However, if the scope of the dispute covers a whole industry or trade, that industry or trade is taken as a unit and the settlement, when reached, will apply throughout.

The second set of measures deals with labor difficulties arising from the suspension of business by a number of firms and factories prior to liberation. They govern the settlement of disputes concerning the resumption of business and re-employment.

As factories and firms resume business, they are required to give priority to their old employees. Old employees, however, who have been discharged for "wrongful acts" or inferior workmanship, or who left on their own initiative before liberation, or who received severance pay upon being dismissed may not demand reinstatement. However, employees in the first category may appeal their cases, and all employees may register with the Labor Union of the factory for subsequent re-employment, or with the Unemployed Workers Committee of the General Labor Union. Management is not allowed to dismiss workers because of "private grudges" or because of participation in a union or other political activities.

The regulations also stipulate conditions of dismissal. One month's notice must be given employees and severance pay awarded, the amount to be not less than one month nor more than three.

These regulations, as will be seen, cover 90 percent of the problems that had been plaguing management. In great detail they specify virtually everything except actual wage scales.

Like most regulations, however, a great deal depends on how they are administered and interpreted. The first significant mediation of a labor dispute, and one which has been regarded as setting an important precedent, occurred not in Shanghai, but in Tientsin, where a Labor Bureau similar to the one instituted in Shanghai had been set up. The parties in the dispute were the management and workers of the Yungli Soda Plant in Tangku. This soda plant had employed 83 temporary workers last March under an arrangement with the Labor Department of the city government whereby it was orally agreed that they were to be discharged in August. When their contract ended, however, the workers refused to be discharged, and the case was brought before the Tientsin Labor Bureau.

The Labor Bureau handed down a ruling that, under the principle of "mutual benefit to labor and capital and the development of production," management has the right to discharge workers when its contract with them ends. The Bureau explained that if management were forced to employ unnecessary workers, it would have an adverse effect on the conduct of business and production and would furthermore discourage management from employing additional workers in the future. At the same time, the Bureau promised the discharged workers that they would receive help in finding other jobs.

In Shanghai, the newly formed Labor Bureau has considered a number of cases involving workers who were discharged before or directly after liberation and who have subsequently demanded re-employment. The decisions reached by the Bureau bear evidence of fair-minded regard for the interests of both labor and capital. At the British-owned Ewo Brewery, for example, a case involving 106 discharged workers was brought before the Bureau. After three months of investigation, it was found that most of these workers had left the brewery during the Japanese occupation or before. The brewery had made three payments to the workers after their discharge and, at the time of the last payment, had received a written statement from the workers promising that they would not raise new demands. The investigation also disclosed that only eight of the 106 workers were actually unemployed at the present time. The Bureau therefore ruled in favor of management and declared that the workers could not press their demand for re-employment.

Flexible Laws

A slightly different decision was arrived at in a case involving discharged workers at the Li Lai Chemical Works in Shanghai. In this instance, a request for re-employment on the part of 80 women workers had been turned down by the factory management on the grounds that business was bad. No agreement could be reached through direct negotiation, and the case was submitted to the Labor Bureau for arbitration. The Bureau worked out a compromise agreeable to both sides. Under its

scheme, the workers were divided into three groups, each of which was to be given work in rotation, so that each worker would work one day out of three. The compromise also covered a wage payment satisfactory to both sides.

Thus under the new regulations, and their application by the Labor Bureau, a formula is being worked out for labor peace until production conditions become normal.

Management has the right to appeal what it considers to be unreasonable labor demands and the assurance of a fair hearing. Labor also has the right to appeal what in its eyes are unfair conditions imposed by management with the knowledge that it will receive a sympathetic hearing.

Labor also has abandoned many of the tactics it used immediately after liberation and instead has, in many cases, adopted a policy of appeasing management so that it will not be forced to close down. Many workers have agreed to be paid on a percentage of the profits, rather than on a straight salary basis, during the present period. Others have voluntarily agreed to turn part of their salaries back to the factories (as a loan) in order to enable the factories to buy the necessary raw materials and keep going. While, under such conditions, factory management is not allowed to make a profit, neither are factory owners required to dip into their personal funds to meet wage payments as was necessary before.

Labor Organizes

At the same time, labor organization is moving ahead rapidly. By August 10, according to a report from the General Labor Union printed in the *Ta Kung Pao*, 96 unions had been formed in Shanghai with a membership of more than 550,000. As factory unions are formed, they will elect officers and delegates to the General Labor Union and a permanent organization with elected officers will then be set up.

The All China Labor Union is of course promoting the education of labor in its new role as the key foundation of the New Democracy and this policy is being adopted by the unions. Shanghai's utility workers, for example, are forming an overall utility workers union out of the various separate unions of city utility workers. The announced aims of this organization are to "consolidate the workers' organizations and to help in the reconstruction of Shanghai."

The new People's government faces a tremendous task in fulfilling its policy of "mutual benefit for both labor and capital and the development of production." Both groups must be educated to work toward this goal and to see the long-term mutuality of their interests. Instead of the aimless appeasement policy of the KMT, which sought to mollify both groups when trouble threatened, merely to keep itself in power, the new People's government seeks labor-management harmony in order to foster production for the reconstruction of the country in which both groups have a stake.

The Week's Business

WITH the city in a festive mood, celebrating the founding of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and with three holidays from October 1 to 3, there has been relatively little business to speak of during the week under review.

The establishment of the People's Government of the People's Republic of China has brought bright hopes to local business circles which envisage a great future under a stabilized national economy and finance.

The news of Soviet Russia being the first to accord recognition to the People's Republic of China was warmly received by local import and export circles, and is expected to bring about the rapid development of Sino-Soviet trade. China will be able to ship tea, tung oil, wolfram ores, soya beans and other native products to Soviet Russia in exchange for the latter's technical assistance, machinery and equipment which cannot be produced in this country.

As it is, the foreign trade of Shanghai has made rapid strides in the month of September. According to the *Wen Hui Pao*, quoting authoritative sources, some 4,300 tons of supplies were imported and 9,000 tons of supplies exported by Shanghai during the second half of September, the highest record since the liberation of the city.

The list of import goods ranged from raw cotton to gasoline and diesel oil, pharmaceuticals, indigo, dyestuffs, machinery spare parts, chemical raw materials, crude rubber, camphor, newsprint, cigarette paper, sulfur black, resin, Klim milk, coconut oil, woolen piece goods, steel bars, steel barrels, steel wires, wool, carbolic acid, zinc white, soda ash and others.

The export goods, mostly shipped to the United States, North Africa and Hongkong, consisted of green tea, hog bristles, raw silk, tung oil, porcelain wares, duck feathers, goat hair, embroidery articles, menthol, raw materials for buttons, bamboo chopsticks, kerosene stoves, yarn waste, canned fruit, leather goods, poplin, woolen blankets, cardboard paper and other items.

The Shanghai importers and exporters have lost no time in contacting agents in foreign countries for the resumption and development of foreign trade. Recently the Shanghai Maritime Customs received more than 220 import bills of lading from abroad as well as some 300 export bills of lading.

Supplies stockpiled in Hongkong are also awaiting urgent importation into this port. These supplies, including some 20,000 bales of raw cotton and 40,000 tons of chemical and industrial raw materias, hardware, steel and iron, and newsprint, are expected to be brought to Shanghai shortly.

Meanwhile, in order to stimulate the import and export trade, the East China Foreign Trade Bureau is reported considering a partial import-export link system and is drafting measures for the import of goods to Shanghai through other ports.

Local merchants visiting Tientsin are optimistic regarding trade conditions in the North China port. Already 69 importers and exporters from Shanghai have obtained permission from the North China Foreign Trade Control Bureau for the establishment of branch offices in Tientsin to conduct business. In its efforts at aiding the local exporters, the Bank of China in Shanghai released some JMP5,000,000,000 in loans during the month of September.

To meet the requirements of the textile industry of Shanghai, the North China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company is reported rushing the shipment of 8,800,000 catties of raw cotton to Shanghai. The first shipment of 2,000,000 catties of American cotton and 1,100,000 catties of North China native cotton has already been effected, and the second shipment of 900,000 catties of raw cotton is scheduled to leave Tangshan for the south immediately. The remaining 4,800,000 catties of raw cotton will be shipped here before the end of the current month.

Although two weeks have elapsed since the issuance of the new JMP500 and JMP1,000 denomination notes, commodity prices in Shanghai as well as in other ports and important cities have remained stable, offering a striking contrast to the issuance of new notes by the KMT reactionaries, which caused the skyrocketing of commodity prices.

Taking as a basis the wholesale commodity prices in various cities on September 9, the day before the announcement of the issuance of the new notes by the People's Bank, the margin of fluctuations in commodity quotations by the end of September was as follows:

Peking, Sept. 28 . . Increase of 2.2%
S'hai, Sept. 28 . . Decrease of 2.9%
T'tsin, Sept. 26 . . Increase of 4.7%
H'kow, Sept. 27 . . Increase of 8.2%

In the financial market, the money situation remained tight during the week in view of the month-end pay-day and the event of the mid-autumn festival on October 6. The curb interest rate on loans fluctuated at around JMP12 per mille per day.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Sept. 28	Oct. 5
US dollar (note)	3,700	3,900
Party Deposit Unit	737	749
20's yarn	730,000	705,000
12 lb. cloth	38,800	33,700
Rice, 1st grade	38,000	34,000
Peanut oil	70,000	77,000
Coal briquette	5,500	5,500

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Central People's Government Formed; KMT Seizes US Ships

IN Peking, on September 29, the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" was unanimously passed by the PCC. The session also passed provisions for electing the National Committee of the PCC and the Central People's Government Council. It was decided that the Central People's Government Council, highest organ of state authority, should consist of a chairman, six vice-chairmen and fifty-six members.

In Peking, on September 30, Mao Tze-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was elected Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China by unanimous vote. The six vice-chairmen elected are as follows (arranged in alpabetical order): Chang Lan, Chairman of the Democratic League; Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Kao Kang, Chairman of the Northeast People's Government and Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Li Chi-sen, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang; Liu Shao-chi, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen).

On the same day, 180 members of the National Committee of the PCC were elected, 18 seats being reserved for leading personages from areas yet to be liberated. All elections were carried out by secret ballot under the supervision of 60 delegates representing 54 participating organizations and specially invited delegates. The announcement of the results of the elections was greeted with great applause.

* * *

Recognition

ALL foreign Governments have been notified that the new People's Government, "sole legal Government representing all peoples of the People's Republic of China," is willing to "establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government which would be willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty." Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government, sent the proclamation with an official letter to the consuls of the old consulates of various countries in Peking to be forwarded to their respective governments. The proclamation and letter were also sent to the old embassies or old legations in Nanking of countries which have no consulates in Peking. In his letter, Chou En-lai wrote: "I believe that the establishment of normal relations between the People's Republic of China and other countries of the world is necessary."

A Declaration from the PCC is being cabled to the United Nations General Assembly, pointing out that the PCC is the sole government that can represent the Chinese people and that the delegates sent to the United Nations by the "bogus government of the remnant reactionary forces in Canton" are unqualified to represent the Chinese people.

First foreign government to recognize the new People's Republic has been the Government of the Soviet Union. A note to this effect was dispatched by M. Gromyko, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs for the USSR, to Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Affairs Minister, on October 2. At the same time, M. Gromyko addressed a note to the Charge d'Affairs of the Kuomintang Government in Moscow informing the latter of the severance of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Kuomintang regime. The USSR has recalled its diplomatic representatives from Canton.

As yet there is no news of recognition from Britain or America.

* * *

Seizure of US Ships

THE American cargo ships, *Flying Independence* and *Flying Clipper*, which left Shanghai last week have been taken to Chusan Island by KMT naval vessels at the point of the gun. The American Navy refused to answer the radio appeals for assistance that the cargo ships sent out. At one stage in the proceedings a British naval vessel stood by, having answered a radio appeal, but apparently did not intervene to prevent the seizure.

In an editorial on October 3, *the North China Daily News* said that "what is happening in the waters along China's coast is hopelessly illegal." The same editorial points out very clearly that the so-called blockade has been effective solely because foreign governments have defaulted in refusing to act upon their declarations stating that the blockade is illegal under international law.

There is little doubt now that the blockade is hurting no one so badly as the British and American business interests who desire trade between China and abroad. The blockade cannot continue far into the future, but in the meantime foreign businessmen are suffering severely.

In Foochow, on September 28, veteran Admiral, Sa Cheng-ping, commenting on the Kuomintang navy said: "The Kuomintang basically does not know a thing about running the navy, and good war vessels soon go to rot when they come into its hands. At this time of total collapse, the Kuomintang simply cannot keep its naval force in hand." With regard to the blockade, the Admiral said: "Judging from the liberation of Changshan Island in Pohai Bay and Pingtan Island off the Fukien coast, the blockade will not last long."

* * *

The Last Round

THE PLA has occupied all bridgeheads on the mainland opposite the island port of Amoy and is preparing an amphibious invasion. Hongkong reports that the hasty evacuation of Amoy by "government employees" has left KMT government departments on the island in chaos.

In the south, a full scale drive through Kwangtung to Canton is expected to commence soon. In the northwest, the PLA is apparently moving down into Szechuen through the "backdoor" in the north. The PLA has liberated Yingchwang, provincial capital of Ninghsia, on the southern borders of Outer Mongolia.

The *New China News Agency* reports that at Sining, capital of

DAIREN FOREIGN TRADE FIGURES UP

Foreign trade in the Dairen-Port Arthur area, according to reports reaching here, has grown steadily in the last few years. While the volume of trade has risen greatly, latest figures indicate that the area has gradually cut down its unfavorable trade balance—unfavorable until this year; for the first time, a favorable balance has been achieved.

Taking 1946 as a base year with an index of 100, trade in 1947 stood at the index figure of 426. In 1948 the index rose to 1,434, while the index for the first six months of 1949 has reached 1,919.

In 1946 imports accounted for 78 percent of the total trade, while in the first six months of this year imports stood at 45.9 percent and exports at 54.1 percent. During the past four years, foodstuffs, industrial raw materials, tools, industrial oils, fuel, medicine, and fertilizer have led imports, while the main export products included cotton cloth, yarn, fish nets, chemical goods, earthen and glass wares, porcelain, and sea products.

Tsinghai, 30,000 people including Tibetans, Mohammedans and Tibetans celebrated the liberation of Sining at a mass rally. Tien Mai, representative of 25 Tibetan tribes in Yushu county in south Tsinghai, said at the rally: "We walked 900 kilometers from Yushu to welcome the People's Liberation Army." Ma Hsiang-chen, a Mohammedan representative, said: "Equality of nationalities and freedom of religious beliefs carried out by the People's Liberation Army has exposed the deceptive propaganda of the reactionaries."

* * *

China Celebrates

CHAIRMAN Mao Tze-tung officially proclaimed the formation of the Central People's Government before 200,000 people in Peking on October 1. The meeting was followed by a military parade and popular demonstrations. Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh took the salute at the military review which was led by marines and sailors of the People's Navy. Infantry, artillery, cavalry, tank divisions and motorized units followed. Overhead flew bombers and fighters of the People's Air Force in fighting formation. Demonstrations lasted well into the night celebrating the birth of the new China.

In Shanghai, on October 2nd, 40,000 people braved a driving rain to meet at the Race Course in celebration of the birth of the People's Republic of China and International Peace Day. In a short address, Yao Su-shih, of the Shanghai section of the Communist Party, described the new Government as a "pillar of international peace" and the greatest peace-preserving force in the Far East.

The meeting sent a special telegram to the World Peace organization upholding the cause of world peace.

Many demonstrations passed through Shanghai's streets on October 2nd and 3rd. Two large contingents of factory workers marched from Wayside through streets that were under a foot of water. All Shanghai that was not marching was in the streets cheering the demonstrators. Popular slogans were, "Liberate all China," "Unite With the Nations of the World Treating China on a Equal Footing," "Oppose Aggressive War," "Support the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

The new flag of the People's Republic hung from all buildings.

Throughout liberated China the people celebrated.

* * *

Russia and Yugoslavia

AS relations between Russia and China were cemented, those between Russia and Yugoslavia grew more strained. The Soviet Union denounced its 1945 treaty of friendship and collaboration with Yugoslavia, charging that the recent Rajk treason trial in Hungary showed that Yugoslavia had been following a policy hostile to the Soviet Union. In a note to Yugoslavia, the Soviet government said "the Soviet Union from now on deems itself free from the obligations" ensuing from the treaty. The treaty provided for assistance between the two countries should one of them be attacked by Germany or any state uniting directly or indirectly with Germany, guaranteed that neither country would enter into an alliance against the other, and provided for a 20-year period of friendship and collaboration.

Poland and Bulgaria have followed suit by denouncing their treaties with Yugoslavia too. Both countries charged that Yugoslav representatives were engaged in espionage and other disruptive activities within their borders.

* * *

Strike Scene

IN the United States workers of three major industries are out on strike. They include 480,000 coal miners, more than half a million steel workers, and 115,000 automobile workers.

All the disputes center around pension and welfare funds. The coal miners are striking for the restoration of pensions stopped by their welfare fund because coal managements refuse to continue paying 14 cents a ton royalties on coal produced. The steel workers are trying to make the steel companies implement a recommendation by President Truman's fact finding board for a six percent pension and four percent welfare contribution. The steel companies insist that workers contribute to this fund. Automobile workers are also striking for pension funds.

Press dispatches carry reports of violence on a scale that has not characterized strikes in recent years. Non-union coal mines in Pennsylvania and Kentucky have been wrecked by explosions and riflemen in the mountains of central Pennsylvania have been ambushing coal convoys. In Buffalo, New York, police hurled tear gas bombs at an auto workers picket line which was trying to prevent non-strikers from entering a plant.

Meanwhile two other large strikes threaten. A strike of 65,000 dock workers, set for this week, has been postponed 30 days to allow time for more negotiations. Electrical and radio union leaders have authorized

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What Chinese Papers Say...

Mighty Union

THE *People's Daily* in Peking, commenting on the formation of the new government, said: "The plunder company which the Kuomintang Chiang Kai-shek bloc opened in China has already closed down. Anyone who still regards it as a 'government' and advocates that its absurd 'appeal' should be listed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly and agrees to it is only deceiving himself and others, seeking self-defeat and adopting an openly unfriendly attitude towards the Chinese people. . ."

The *Ta Kung Pao* said the five stars on China's new flag symbolize "the mighty union of the four classes of people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party" and its red color appropriately marks the carrying out of the revolution.

Commenting on other decisions made by the PPCC, the *Ta Kung Pao* noted that the adoption of the universal calendar is "both convenient and scientific." In refusing "to have any new year 'of the reign,'" the paper said, the Chinese people "show our abhorrence of feudalistic concepts."

The paper recalled that the March of the Volunteers (*Ch'i Lai*), China's new provisional national anthem, was known throughout China during the early years of the war against Japan. "This mighty song, belonging to the masses and symbolic of the inner voice of the people, has its deserved place in history," it said.

The paper also hailed the selection of Peking as China's capital, declaring that it is "ideal as the center for directing the industrialization of China" and is the place where "almost the whole of our national heritage is centered."

* * *

Back Door Open

IN an editorial commenting on the liberation of Sinkiang province, the *Ta Kung Pao* recalled that Henry Wallace had referred to the area as China's back door. "This door is now open," the paper said. "New China has access to a new international communication line."

Pointing out the significance of this development, the paper declared: "With Sinkiang now on the side of the people, the whole of the greater Northwest is completely liberated. The whole expanse of the country from the Heilungkiang and the Yalu River to the Chungling and the Altai mountains is completely liberated. . . . The mighty forces of General Peng Teh-huai and General Ho Lung can now be freed for the campaign into Szechuen."

The paper added that Sinkiang's racial and minority problems would now be ended. In contrast to the racial hatred between the Chinese and Moslems during the Manchu and Kuomintang regimes, it said, "the racial policy of the New Democracy aims basically at the conversion of the various racial groups in China into one big happy family. In the implementation of this policy, opposition is given to the common enemies of the whole within the ranks of the various racial groups as well as imperialism from without. Opposition is also given to tendencies toward any 'master race doctrine' or ultra-nationalism. Regional autonomy and religious beliefs of the minorities are to be safeguarded. This correct policy has already produced the fruit of racial cooperation in Inner Mongolia. It will also be successfully implemented in Sinkiang and in Tibet after its liberation. For the racial problems of the world can no longer be solved with the empty slogan of 'racial equality.' Racial problems will only be solved by being linked with the proletarian revolution. . . ."

The question now facing China, the editorial concluded, is "the reconstruction of the greater Northwest, which includes the Hosi corridor, Kansu, Chinghai and Ninghsia. . ."

* * *

Atom Bomb

THE *Ta Kung Pao* interpreted President Truman's announcement of the detection of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union as an attempt "to find an excuse for the sort of feverish armament race American imperialism is embarking on."

However, the paper continued, the *Tass* statement implying that Russia has the bomb but is only using it for constructive work has upset this scheme. "Accordingly," it said, "American imperialism, the British cabinet and the Vatican are all in a quandary. In the past, the atomic bomb used to be a secret weapon of imperialism. . . . When American imperialism is able to conquer the whole world 'at the drop of an atomic bomb,' how tenderhearted it is of her not to do so. 'You must pay well for my tenderheartedness or you will have a taste of the atomic bomb' has already been known the world over as the 'atomic foreign policy.' Now that this atomic foreign policy is no longer effective, we wonder what will come next."

By contrast, the paper said, the news shows that "the Soviet Union is truly peace-loving, the veritable 'home' of world peace, and that once a dangerous weapon is mastered by the Soviet Union, it is forthwith turned into an instrument of peace."

The editorial concluded by predicting that "the people of the world shall resolutely and faithfully ban the employment of the atomic weapons and harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

a strike vote by 200,000 workers at the General Electric and Westinghouse concerns if their contract negotiations fail.

* * *

Radio Bias

A major policy change in US radio broadcasting was brought about during the week when private American radio stations obtained the right to express their own editorial views on public questions. Until now, the Federal Communications Commission has forbidden radio stations to editorialize. In relaxing this rule, the FCC expressed the hope that radio stations would present "a reasonably balanced presentation" of views. One member of the FCC, however, dissented from the new ruling, declaring that the order against editorializing should continue "in the absence of some method of policing and enforcing the requirement that the public trust granted to a licensee be exercised in an impartial manner."

Because of limitations imposed by time and wave lengths, radio broadcasting has been held to be different from newspaper publishing and other forms of mass media which, theoretically at least, can exist in unlimited quantities. Therefore, radio stations have operated under strict rules governing program content. In addition to the ban on editorializing, radio stations are required to allot equal time to the pros and cons of controversial issues. Should a radio station or network carry a broadcast attacking the idea of socialized medicine, for example, proponents of socialized medicine may demand, and get, the right to buy an equal amount of time on the air to present their side of the case. The new FCC ruling, which allows radio stations to editorialize on such questions, marks an important reversal of the checks imposed by the FCC on radio bias.

* * *

Trade Agreement

THE British Labor Government has been given a vote of confidence on its devaluation and economic policy. The vote was 342 to five, with the Conservative Party abstaining. The real test of this policy will come, however, when British elections are called.

Meanwhile, a bright spot in Britain's trade prospects was the signing of a five-year trade agreement with Czechoslovakia. The agreement provides that Czechoslovakia will pay Britain £15,000,000 in the next five years as compensation for British property nationalized or expropriated in Czechoslovakia and toward the retirement of other debts in Britain. Britain, in return, will buy annually £5,750,000 of Czechoslovak products. Czechoslovakia will supply Britain with softwood, sugar, raw materials, industrial goods, rubber products, carbon and plastics, as well as wool, cotton and other commodities.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 71)

a feeling of love and warmth. We have such a good and well trained army, and we also now have a good mayor who, for the sake of liberating the whole country, eats only common, or 'big kitchen' food. We want to learn from Russia to take the 'bitter first, then the sweet.'

"Unfortunately, I am old and cannot become a soldier myself, but my children are working among the soldiers and I am taking care of their children. I sincerely hope that other women of my age will also do their best to help their children to do something for the country, for at this time the nation should come first.

"I am enclosing JMP$2,000 to comfort the PLA. It is a small sum, but like a drop of water among many drops will make a mighty ocean. Please forward it for me."

WONG YUAN CHI

Shanghai
September 21, 1949

HOSPITAL SERVICE

To The Editor:

Since reading your editorial, "Medical Code Needed," which appeared in the September 10 issue of the Review, public indignation and resentment especially among the poorer groups has been high over the practices of many local hospitals. The court decision ordering St. Marie's Hospital to pay JMP 2,000,000 to the family of the patient who died after waiting several hours at the hospital before receiving treatment has served to highlight the need for some official code of procedure governing hospital-patient relations.

Just about a year ago, my neighbor, who was a civil servant, suddenly took sick. His doctor advised him to enter the hospital if he wanted to recover, but, as you know, the economic plight of a petty civil servant was such that he could not afford to take this advice. Later he became dangerously ill and was hurriedly rushed to the hospital. However, he did not receive any treatment until his friends and relatives scurried about trying to locate enough money to pay for the necessary expenses. Hospitals, public and private, should put ethics first in such emergency cases.

I support the two points made recently by our People's Court with regard to hospital-patient relations. 1) Hospitals have the responsibility to provide any medicines available when they are urgently needed in the treatment of a patient. 2) Every attention must be given to patients in the event of an emergency.

WONG SZE-LIANG

Shanghai
September 19, 1949

A MISSIONARY VIEW

To The Editor:

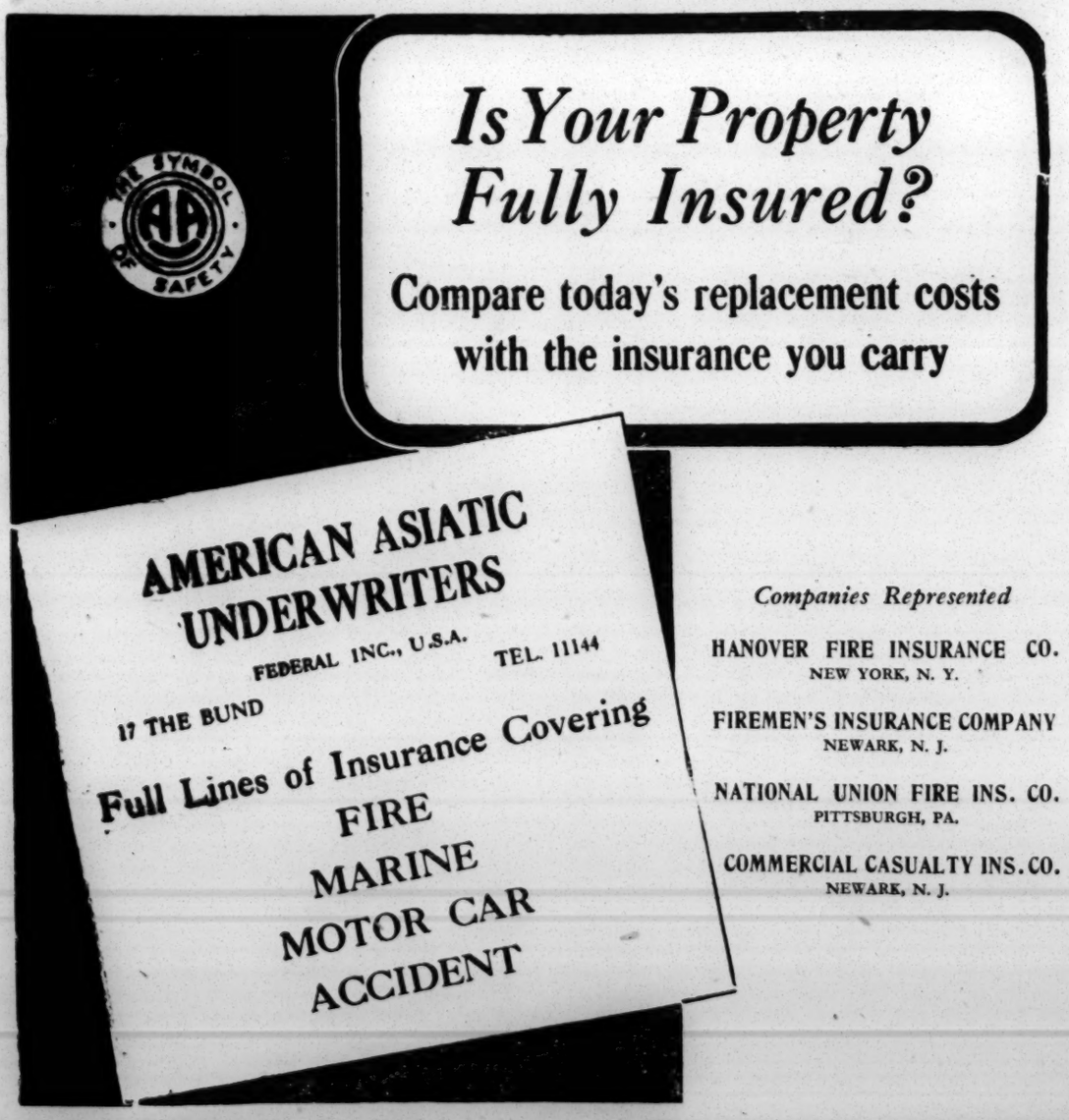
Thank you for sending me two introductory copies of your Review. However, I do not feel that I want to subscribe at present. I have been buying the Review from the news stands now and then. In fact the first complimentary copy you sent me I had already bought and had clipped the article on "Reformation of Christianity," and had mailed it to our mission board, not because I like it but because it was something showing how people here felt about it. The article left me cold. If I would believe it all, I would be going home on the Gordon. (I am NOT leaving).

Also, other articles in the Review make an American feel pretty much down in the dumps and I feel better not reading them. I hear plenty of that from the ones who are leaving or want to get out. Perhaps it is the truth that hurts. If that's it, it's good for you to print the truth. I certainly know that our US has made plenty of mistakes but I have good hopes that they will do the right thing in the future. Otherwise I would not be here.

I wonder what you thought of the Voice of America news on Shanghai the other day, painting Shanghai so badly. I'm still eating good meals.

R. J. M.

Shanghai
September 20, 1949



Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

(Unofficial English Translation by New China News Agency)

THE great victories of the Chinese people's war of liberation and people's revolution have ended the era of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China. From the status of the oppressed, the Chinese people have become the master of a new society and a new state, and replaced the feudal, compradore, fascist, dictatorial Kuomintang reactionary rule with a republic of the people's democratic dictatorship. The Chinese people's democratic dictatorship is the state power of the people's democratic united front of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and patriotic democratic elements based on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference composed of the representatives of the Communist Party of China, all democratic parties and groups, people's organizations, all areas, the People's Liberation Army, all national minorities, overseas Chinese and patriotic democratic elements, is the form of organization of the Chinese people's democratic united front. The Chinese People's PCC representing the will of the people throughout the country proclaims the establishment of the People's Republic of China and organizes the people's own central government. The Chinese People's PCC unanimously agrees that the New Democracy, namely the people's democracy, shall be the political foundation for national construction of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese People's PCC has also worked out the following common program which should be observed in common by all units participating in the Chinese People's PCC, all levels of the People's Government and the people throughout the country.

Chapter One—General Principles

Article 1: The People's Republic of China is a state of new democracy, that is, people's democracy. This Republic carries out the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and rallying all democratic classes and all nationalities in China. This Republic opposes imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and strives for the independence, democracy, peace, unification, prosperity and strength of China.

Article 2: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China must undertake to wage the people's war of liberation to the very end, liberate all the territory of China and accomplish the cause of unifying China.

Article 3: The People's Republic of China must abolish all prerogatives of imperialist countries in China, confiscate bureaucratic capital for ownership by the people's state; systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into the system of peasant land ownership; protect the public property of the state and the property of cooperatives; protect the economic interests and private property of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie; develop the people's economy of new democracy and steadily transform the country from an agricultural into an industrial country.

Article 4: The right of the people of the People's Republic of China to elect and be elected is prescribed by law.

Article 5: The people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, moving from one place to another, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations.

Article 6: The People's Republic of China abolishes the feudal system which holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be enforced.

Article 7: The People's Republic of China must suppress all counter-revolutionary activities, severely punish all Kuomintang counter-revolutionary war criminals and other obdurate arch counter-revolutionary elements who collude with imperialism, commit treason to the fatherland and oppose the cause of people's democracy. Reactionary elements, feudal landlords, bureaucratic capitalists in general, must, according to law, also be deprived of their political rights within a necessary period after they have been disarmed and their special power abolished, but they shall at the same time be given means of living and compelled to reform themselves through labor to become new men. If they continue their counter-revolutionary activities, they shall be severely punished.

Article 8: It is the duty of every national of the People's Republic of China to defend the fatherland, to observe the laws, to maintain labor discipline, to protect public property, to perform public service and military service and pay taxes.

Article 9: All nationalities in the People's Republic of China have equal rights and duties.

Article 10: The armed forces of the People's Republic of China, that is, the People's Liberation Army, the people's public security forces and people's police, are armed forces belonging to the people. Their tasks are to defend the independence, integrity of territory and sovereignty of China and the revolutionary fruits and all legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese people. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall endeavor to consolidate and strengthen the people's armed forces to enable them to accomplish their tasks effectively.

Article 11: The People's Republic of China unites with all peace and freedom-loving countries and people's democracies throughout the world, first of all the Soviet Union, all people's democracies and all oppressed nations, and stands in the camp for international peace and democracy to oppose jointly imperialist aggression and defend lasting world peace.

Chapter Two—Organs of State Power

Article 12: The state power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. All levels of the People's Congress and all levels of the People's Government are the organs for exercising state power by the people. All levels of the People's Congress shall be elected through universal suffrage by the people. All levels of the People's Congress shall elect the respective levels of the People's Government. The various levels of the People's Government shall be the organs for exercising state power at their respective levels when their respective People's Congresses are not in session. The All-China People's Congress is the supreme organ of state power. The Central People's Government shall be the supreme organ for exercising state power when the All-China People's Congress is not in session.

Article 13: The Chinese People's PCC is the form of organization of the people's democratic united front. It shall be composed of the representatives of the working class, the peasantry, revolutionary service men, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, national minorities, overseas Chinese and patriotic democratic elements.

Pending the convocation of the All-China People's Congress elected through universal suffrage, the plenary session of the Chinese People's PCC shall exercise the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress, enact the statute of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elect the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China and vest it with the authority of exercising state power.

After the convocation of the All-China People's Congress elected through universal suffrage, the Chinese People's PCC shall submit proposals on fundamental policies relating to the construction work of the country and other important measures to the All-China People's Congress or to the Central People's Government.

Article 14: Military control shall be enforced in all places newly liberated by the People's Liberation Army, and the Kuomintang reactionary organs of state power shall be abolished. The Central People's Government or military and political organs at the fronts shall appoint personnel to organize military control committees and local people's government to lead the people in establishing revolutionary order and suppressing counter-revolutionary activities and, when conditions permit, to convene conferences of the representatives of all circles.

Pending the convocation of the local People's Congresses elected through universal suffrage, the local conferences of representatives of all circles shall gradually assume the functions of the local People's Congresses.

The duration of military control shall be determined by the Central People's Government in accordance with military and political conditions of the locality.

In all places where military operations have ended, agrarian reform has been thoroughly carried out and people of all circles have been fully organized, elections through universal suffrage shall be held immediately to convene local People's Congresses.

Article 15: All levels of organs of state power shall put into practice democratic centralism. Its main principles are: The People's Council is responsible and accountable to the People's Congress. Within the People's Congress and the People's Government Council, the minority shall abide by the decisions of the majority. The appointment of the People's Governments of various levels shall be confirmed by the People's Government of the higher level. The People's Government of the lower level shall obey the People's Government of the higher level and all local People's Governments throughout the country shall obey the Central People's Government.

Article 16: The jurisdiction of the Central People's Government and the local People's Governments shall be defined in accordance with the nature of the various kinds of affairs and shall be prescribed by decrees of the Central People's Government Council so as to be beneficial both to national unification and to local expediency.

Article 17: All laws, decrees and judicial systems of the Kuomintang reactionary government oppressing the people are abolished and laws and decrees protecting the people shall be enacted and the people's judicial system shall be set up.

Article 18: All state organs must enforce a revolutionary working style of honesty, simplicity and service to the people, must severely punish graft, forbid extravagance and oppose the bureaucratic working style of estrangement from the masses of the people.

Article 19: People's supervisory organs shall be set up in the People's Governments of county and municipal level and above to supervise the execution of function of duties by the various levels of state organs and public functionaries, and indict organs and functionaries who violate the law or are derelict in the performance of their duties. People or people's organizations have the right to indict before the people's supervisory organs or people's judicial organs any state organ or any public functionary violating the law or derelict in performing their duties.

Chapter Three—Military System

Article 20: The People's Republic of China shall build up a unified army, that is, the People's Liberation Army and the people's public security forces, which shall be under the command of the People's Revolutionary Military Council of the Central People's Government and which shall institute a unified command, unified system, unified formation and unified discipline.

Article 21: The People's Liberation Army and the people's public security forces shall, in accordance with the principle of unity between the officers and rank and file and unity between the army and the people, set up a political work system, and educate the commanders and fighters of these troops in the revolutionary and patriotic spirit.

Article 22: The People's Republic of China shall strengthen the modernized land force and establish an air force and a navy to consolidate national defense.

Article 23: The People's Republic of China shall enforce the system of people's militia to maintain local order, lay the foundation for national mobilization and prepare for the enforcement of an obligatory military service system at the appropriate moment.

Article 24: The armed forces of the People's Republic of China shall, during peace time, systematically take part in agricultural and industrial production to assist in national construction work on the condition of not hindering military tasks.

Article 25: Dependents of revolutionary martyrs and revolutionary servicemen who suffer from privation shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall appropriately provide the means of livelihood and settling down for disabled servicemen and retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war.

Chapter Four—Economic Policy

Article 26: The basic principle for economic construction of the People's Republic of China is to attain the goal of developing production and bringing about a prosperous economy through the policies of taking into account both public and private interests, benefits to both labor and capital, mutual aid between the city and countryside, and interflow of goods at home and with abroad. The state shall coordinate and regulate state owned economy, cooperative economy, individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy and state capitalist economy in the spheres of operation, supply of raw materials, markets, labor conditions, technical equipment, policies of public finance and finance, etc., so that all components of the social economy can play their part and effect division of work and cooperate under the leadership of the state owned economy to promote the development of the entire social economy.

Article 27: Agrarian reform is the essential condition for the development of the productive power and the industrialization of the country. In all areas where the agrarian reform has been carried out, the right of ownership over the land obtained by peasants shall be protected. In areas where the agrarian reform has not yet been carried out, the peasant masses must be set in motion to organize peasant organizations and realize "land to the tiller" through such measures as the elimination of local bandits and despots, reduction of rents and interest and distribution of land.

Article 28: State owned economy is of a socialist nature. All enterprises vital to the economic life of the country and to the people's livelihood shall come under unified operation by the State. All state-owned resources and enterprises are the common property of all the people. They are the main material basis of the People's Republic for developing production and bringing about a prosperous economy and are the leading force of the entire social economy.

Article 29: Cooperative economy is of a semi-socialist nature and is an important component of the entire people's economy, the People's Government shall foster its development and accord it preferential treatment.

Article 30: The People's Government shall encourage operating of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood and foster their development.

Article 31: The economy of cooperation between state and private capital is of a state capitalist nature. Whenever necessary and possible, private capital shall be encouraged to develop along the direction of state capitalism, for example, processing for state-owned enterprises, operating jointly with the state-owned enterprises and exploiting the state-owned resources through the form of concessions.

Article 32: The system of workers taking part in the administration of production shall, at present, be put into practice in state-owned enterprises, that is, factory administrative committees shall be set up under the leadership of the factory. In privately operated enterprises, collective contracts should be signed by the trade union, representing the workers and employees, and the employer in order to carry out the principle of benefits to both labor and capital. At present, an eight to ten hour day shall in general be enforced in publicly and privately operated enterprises, but this may be dealt with at discretion under special circumstances. The People's Government shall fix the minimum wage according to the conditions in various places and trades. Labor insurance shall be gradually carried out. The special interests of juvenile and women workers shall be protected. Inspection of industries and mines shall be car-

ried out to improve safety devices and sanitary facilities of the industries and mines.

Article 33: The Central People's Government shall as early as possible draw up a general plan for rehabilitating and developing the main branches of public and private economy of the entire country, determine the division of work and cooperation between the central and local governments in economic construction and carry out unified coordination of the mutual relations between the economic departments of the central and local governments. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government, the various economic departments of the central and local governments should give full play to their creativeness and initiative.

Article 34: Concerning agriculture, forestry, fishery and stock raising in all areas where the agrarian reform has been thoroughly carried out, the People's Government shall take as its central task the organization of peasants and all labor power which should be employed in agriculture to develop agricultural production and side occupations, and shall guide the peasants step by step to organize various forms of labor mutual aid and production cooperation according to the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefits. In newly-liberated areas, every step of the agrarian reform should be linked up with reviving and developing agricultural production. The People's Government should, in accordance with the plan of the state and needs of the people's livelihood, restore the output of grain, industrial raw materials and export goods to the prewar production level and surpass it within the shortest possible time. Attention should be paid to projects of building and repairing irrigation works, taking preventive measures against floods and drought, restoring and developing livestock raising, increasing fertilisers, improving farm tools and seeds, taking preventive measures against pests and plant diseases, relieving the victims of natural calamities and systematically carrying out migration for land reclamation.

Forests shall be protected and forestation shall be developed according to plan.

Fishing grounds along the seacoast shall be protected and the aquatic products industry shall be developed.

Livestock raising shall be protected and preventive measures taken against plague.

Article 35: Concerning industry, to lay down the foundation for the industrialization of the country, work shall be centered on the planned, systematic rehabilitation and development of heavy industry such as mining industry, steel and iron industry, power industry, machine building industry, electrical industry, and the main chemical industries. At the same time, the production of the textile industry and other light industries beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood shall be restored and increased so as to meet with the daily consumption needs of the people.

Article 36: Concerning communications, railways and highways must be swiftly restored and gradually increased; rivers must be dredged and waterway transportation expanded; postal and telegraphic services must be improved and developed; various communication facilities must be built up and civil aviation inaugurated step by step according to plan.

Article 37: Concerning commerce, all legitimate public and private trading shall be protected. Control of foreign trade shall be enforced and the policy of protecting trade shall be adopted. Domestic free trade shall be adopted under a unified economic plan of the state, but commercial speculation disturbing the market is strictly prohibited, the state-owned trading organs shall undertake to adjust supply and demand, stabilize commodity prices and foster the people's cooperatives. The People's Government shall adopt measures to encourage the people to deposit their savings, to facilitate overseas remittance, and channelize the idle capital in society and the commercial capital not beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood into industry and other productive undertakings.

Article 38: Concerning cooperatives, the broad masses of the working people shall be encouraged and assisted to develop cooperatives according to the principle of voluntariness. Supply and marketing cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives, credit cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and transport cooperatives shall be organized in towns and villages and consumers' cooperatives shall first be organized in factories, institutions and schools.

Article 39: Concerning finance, financial enterprises shall be strictly controlled by the State. The right of issuing currency belongs to the State. The circulation of foreign currencies within the country is forbidden. Buying and selling of foreign exchange, foreign currencies, gold and silver shall be handled by the state banks. Private financial enterprises operating within the law shall be subjected to State supervision and direction. Severe punishment shall be meted out to all who engage in financial speculation and undermining of the financial enterprises of the state.

Article 40: Public Finance. The system of budget and final account shall be instituted. The financial spheres of the central and local governments shall be defined. Retrenchment and economy shall be enforced. The balancing of the budget shall be gradually attained and capital accumulated for the country's production.

The taxation policy of the state shall be based on the principle of ensuring supply for the revolutionary war and taking into account the rehabilitation and development of production and the needs of national construction. The taxation system shall be simplified and just distribution of the burden effected.

Chapter Five—Cultural and Educational Policy

Article 41: The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are new democratic, that is, national, scientific and popular. The main tasks for raising the cultural level of the people are training of personnel for national construction work, liquidating of feudal, compradore, fascist ideology and developing of the ideology of serving the people.

Article 42: Love for the fatherland and the people, love of labor, love of science and the taking care of public property shall be promoted as the public spirit of all nationals of the People's Republic of China.

Article 43: Efforts shall be made to develop the natural sciences to place them at the service of industrial, agricultural and national defense construction. Scientific discoveries and inventions shall be encouraged and rewarded and scientific knowledge shall be popularized.

Article 44: The application of scientific historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history, economics, politics, culture and international affairs shall be promoted. Outstanding works of social science shall be encouraged and rewarded.

Article 45: Literature and arts shall be promoted to serve the people, to enlighten the political consciousness of the people and to encourage the labor enthusiasm of the people. Outstanding works of literature and arts shall be encouraged and rewarded. The people's drama and cinema shall be developed.

Article 46: The method of education of the People's Republic of China is the unity of theory and practice. The People's Government shall reform the old educational system, subject matter and teaching method systematically according to plan.

Article 47: In order to meet the widespread needs of revolutionary work and national construction work, universal education shall be carried out, middle and higher education shall be strengthened, technical education shall be stressed, the education of workers during their spare time and education of cadres who are at their posts, shall be strengthened, and revolutionary political education shall be accorded to young intellectuals and old style intellectuals in a planned and systematic manner.

Article 48: National sports shall be promoted. Public health and medical work shall be extended and attention shall be paid to safeguarding the health of mothers, infants and children.

Article 49: Freedom of reporting true news shall be safeguarded. The utilization of the press to slander, to undermine the interests of the state and the people and to provoke world war is prohibited. The people's broadcasting work and the people's publication work shall be developed and attention paid to publishing ducers, cooperatives and transport cooperatives shall be popular books and newspapers beneficial to the people.

Chapter Six—Policy towards Nationalities

Article 50: All nationalities within the boundary of the People's Republic of China are equal. Unity and mutual help shall be effected among them to oppose imperialism and the public enemies within these nationalities so that the People's Republic of China will become a big family of fraternity and cooperation of all nationalities. Greater nationalism and chauvinism shall be opposed and acts of discrimination, oppression and splitting the unity of the various nationalities shall be prohibited.

Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be carried out in areas where national minorities are aggregated, and autonomous organs of the various nationalities shall be set up according to their respective population and size of the region. The various nationalities shall have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of state power in places where various nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of national minorities.

Article 52: The nationalities within the boundary of the People's Republic of China have the right to join the People's Liberation Army and organize local people's public security forces in accordance with the unified military system of the state.

Article 53: All national minorities have the freedom of developing their dialects and languages, preserving or reforming their customs, habits and religious beliefs. The People's Government shall help the masses of the people of all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work.

Chapter Seven—Foreign Policy

Article 54: The principle of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is the safeguarding of the independence, freedom and integrity of territory and sovereignty of the country, supporting of international lasting peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries, and the opposing of the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

Article 55: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall examine the treaties and agreements concluded between the Kuomintang and foreign governments, and recognize or abrogate, or revise or renew them according to their respective contents.

Article 56: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China may negotiate and establish diplomatic relations on the basis of equality, mutual respect for territory and sovereignty with foreign govenments which sever relations with the Kuomintang reactionaries and adopt a friendly attitude towards the People's Republic of China.

Article 57: The People's Republic of China may restore and develop trading and commercial relations with foreign governments and people on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 58: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall do its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residing abroad.

Article 59: The People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall protect law-abiding foreign nationals in China.

Article 60: The People's Republic of China shall accord the right of asylum to foreign nationals who seek refuge in China because they are oppressed by their own governments for supporting the people's interests and taking part in the struggle for peace and democracy.

Manifesto of the First Session of the Chinese People's PCC

FELLOW countrymen of the whole country:

The first plenary session of the Chinese People's PCC has victoriously accomplished its task.

This conference is composed of the delegates of all the political parties and groups, people's organizations, the People's Liberation Army, various areas, various nationalities, overseas Chinese and patriotic democratic elements throughout the country. The conference represents the will of the people throughout the country and demonstrates their unprecedently great unity.

This great unity was achieved through protracted heroic struggle by the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party after defeating the reactionary Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek which is aided by American imperialism. For more than a century, the advanced elements of the Chinese people, among whom were outstanding elements like the great revolutionary Sun Yat-sen who led the 1911 revolution, had led the broad masses of the people to wage ceaseless and unswerving struggle to overthrow the oppression of imperialism and the Chinese reactionary government, and they have now attained their goal. As we are holding the conference, the Chinese people have defeated the enemy, changed the features of China and founded the People's Republic of China. We, 475,000,000 Chinese people, have now stood up and the future of our nation is boundlessly bright.

Under the leadership of the people's leader, Chairman Mao Tze-tung, our conference has with one will and in accordance with the principles of new democracy, drawn up the statute of the Chinese People's PCC, the statute of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Common Program of the Chinese People's PCC, decided that the capital of the People's Republic of China be located at Peking, chosen a red flag with five stars as the national flag of this Republic, adopted the "March of the Volunteers" as the present national anthem, adopted a calendar similar to that of most countries in the world,. and elected the national committee of the Chinese People's PCC and the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China. From now on, a new era has opened in the history of China.

Fellow countrymen throughout the country: The founding of the People's Republic of China has been proclaimed and the Chinese people have their own central government. This government will carry out people's democratic dictatorship within the boundary of China in accordance with the common program. This government will command the People's Liberation Army to wage the revolutionary war to the very end, exterminate the remnant enemy troops, liberate all territory of the country and fulfill the great cause of unifying China. This government will lead the people throughout the country to surmount all difficulties, carry out large-scale economic and cultural construction, sweep away poverty and ignorance left behind by the old China, gradually improve the material life of the people and raise their cultural life. This government will protect the people's interests and suppress all conspiratorial activities of counter-revolutionary elements. This government will strengthen the people's army, navy and air force, consolidate national defense, protect the integrity of territory and sovereignty of China and oppose all aggression of imperialist countries. This government will unite with all peace and freedom loving countries, nations and people, first of all the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries, as allies to oppose jointly the imperialist plots for provoking war and strive for world lasting peace.

Fellow countrymen throughout the country: We should be further organized. We should organize the overwhelming majority of the people in China in the political, military, economic, cultural and other organizations, overcome the loose, disorganized state of the old China, and support the People's Government and the People's Liberation Army with the great collective power of the people's masses to build up an independent, democratic, peaceful, unified, prosperous and strong new China.

Eternal glory to the people's heroes who fell in the people's liberation war and the people's revolution!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese People!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Central People's Government!

The Review's English Lesson XCX

Political Terms

THIS week, we present a few more definitions of political terms as they are being used now in China:

Fascism: Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of monopoly capital. When the capitalist class is unable to preserve its rule through "democratic" forms, these forms and all working class and democratic organizations are abolished or declared illegal and an open dictatorship is instituted. Fascism claims to abolish the class struggle within society. The word "fascism" originates from Italian Fascism which seized power in Italy after the First World War and which was the first example of a fascist system. Today, the most glaring examples of fascism are Franco Spain and the American-supported Greek Royalist Government. Fascism is completely unable to solve the inherent contradictions of capitalism and it cannot abolish the class struggle. Fascism has been described as a "ferocious but unstable power."

Socialism: The political requisite for socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat (the working class). The Soviet Union is a socialist country under a dictatorship of the proletariat which is based upon an alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. Socialism implies that all forms of capitalist production have disappeared and that there is a planned socialist economy. The guiding rule of socialism is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." "Socialism" is a lower stage of communism.

Communism: Communism is the higher stage of socialism. Its guiding rule is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Communism implies that there is an abundance of the material necessities of life for everyone. Under communism all class divisions will have disappeared, and thus there will be no need for a repressive state. The state will "wither away." However, communism will not suddenly happen overnight. In fact, while a danger of imperialist aggression still exists, far from "withering away," the socialist state of the Soviet Union and the new democratic states must be strengthened.

Dialectical Materialism: Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Communist Parties. It is the most consistent of materialist philosophies, affirming that our consciousness does not determine our being but that, on the contrary, our social being determines our consciousness. Schopenhauer, the famous idealist philosopher, wrote: "The world is my idea." This is the **opposite** of materialism. Materialism asserts that our ideas, our minds, reflect the real, material phenomena of the world which exists independently of our minds. However, dialectical materialism is not a negative sort of materialism rejecting the importance of mind, of ideas. It contends that men can make their own history. Marx wrote: "Previous philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it (the world)." Stalin wrote that "when ideas take hold of the masses, they (the ideas) become a material force."

Organic Law: The law or laws by which a government or organization is established or exists. The term signifies the laws incorporated or involved in the organization of a state, a political organism, or other organized association. As used in the political sense, especially with regard to the establishment of a government, the meaning of "organic law" is quite close to "constitution."

Reactionary: From "reaction," a reciprocal or return action. In its wider political meaning, the word "reactionary," used as a noun, denotes one who wishes a return to a former political or social condition, policy, form of government. "Reactionary" as an adjective typifies a policy which tends to resist social progress. A reactionary government is a government which, in the interests of a privileged group, tries all means to keep itself in power, including forcible suppression of progressive organizations and individuals.

Conservative: As a noun, an individual who, unlike the reactionary, wishes to maintain the status quo—things as they are. In effect, a conservative or reactionary policy are about the same: both oppose political and social progress.

Progressive: Favoring, advocating or striving for progress, specifically improvement or reform of political and social methods and practices. In the United States, the party led by Henry Wallace is called the Progressive Party, which emphasizes full employment, world peace, cooperation with Russia and the New Democracies, and expansion of health and welfare services.

New Democracy: The type of political and social organization of the new government of China, which includes the principles of industrialization, agrarian reform, political leadership of the Chinese Communist party, close alliance between workers and peasants, cooperation between capital and labor. The political direction is toward socialism, but private capital is for the present encouraged. "Democratic dictatorship" refers to the principle of political power residing in the broad masses of the people. Reactionary, feudal, bureaucratic elements will not be permitted participation in politics. Thus, the "dictatorship" is by the people over the reactionary minority.

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